

RECUSANT HISTORY

A Journal of Research in Post-Reformation
Catholic History in the British Isles

*Published under the editorial direction of the
Catholic Record Society*

Vol. 4. No. 1
January 1957

[Continuing 'BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES']

THE ARUNDEL PRESS · BOGNOR REGIS

1957

RECUSANT HISTORY (formerly *BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES*) is issued three times annually (in January, April and October). The price is 12s.6d. (U.S.A. \$2.00) for the three issues.

Subscriptions should be addressed to: *The Manager, Recusant History, The Arundel Press, Sussex Rd., Bognor Regis.*

Material submitted for publication should be addressed to: *The Editor, Recusant History, c/o The Arundel Press, Sussex Rd., Bognor Regis.*

RECUSANT HISTORY

Volume 4

Property of

CLgA

Please return to

Graduate Theological

Union Library

THE ARUNDEL PRESS


BOGNOR REGIS

1957 - 1958

50656

CONTENTS OF VOLUME 4

NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE <i>BREVE COMPENDIO</i> . THE BACKGROUND TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 1612. By A. F. Allison	4
THE VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON, MARTYRED AT CARLISLE IN 1597. THE EVIDENCE CONCERNING HIS PLACE OF BIRTH AND THE PLACE AND DATE OF HIS EXECUTION. By J. E. Bamber	18
LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639. A RECENTLY DISCOVERED LIST AMONG THE TOWNLEY PAPERS. By Godfrey Anstruther, O.P.	38
PETER PHILLIPS, COMPOSER AND ORGANIST, 1561-1628. By A. G. Petti	48
THE CATHOLIC RECUSANCY OF THE YORKSHIRE FAIRFAXES. <i>Part II</i> . By Hugh Aveling, O.S.B.	61
FATHER ROBERT PERSONS, S.J., AND <i>THE BOOK OF SUCCESSION</i> . By L. Hicks, S.J.	104
ORDINATIONS IN ROME. INFORMATION ON THE ENGLISH MARTYRS FROM THE ROMAN VICARIATE. By Godfrey Anstruther, O.P.	138
ENGLISH CATHOLICS WITHOUT A BISHOP, 1655-1672. By T. A. Birrell	142
THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY : PROSPECTIVE VOLUMES .	180
SOME NOTES ON THE RECUSANT ROLLS OF THE EXCHEQUER. By Hugh Bowler, O.S.B.	182
VEN. WILLIAM SOUTHERNE : ANOTHER TYNESIDE MARTYR. By Ann M. C. Forster	199
VEN. JOHN TALBOT : SOME GENEALOGICAL NOTES. By Hugh Bowler, O.S.B.	217
THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY. PROGRAMME OF TALKS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC, 1958-59	225
JOHN HEIGHAM OF S. OMER (c.1568-c.1632). By A. F. Allison .	226
INDEX	245



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

RECUSANT HISTORY

Joint Editors

A.F. ALLISON of the Department of Printed Books at the
British Museum and Honorary Librarian to the Catholic
Record Society.

D.M. ROGERS of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Contents of Vol.4 No.1.

	Page
Editors' Note: the change of title	2
The Catholic Record Society: talks to be held Jan-May 1957 . .	3
New Light on the Early History of the <i>Breve Compendio</i> . The background to the English translation of 1612. By A.F. Allison	4
The Venerable Christopher Robinson, martyred at Carlisle in 1597. The evidence concerning his place of birth and the place and date of his execution. By J.E. Bamber	18
Wiltshire Clergy in 1639. A recently-discovered list among the Towneley Papers. By Godfrey Anstruther O.P.	38

EDITOR'S NOTE: THE CHANGE OF TITLE

Six years ago *Biographical Studies* began as an experimental publication. Our main intention then was to try and repair, by gradual stages, some of the omissions and errors in Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, and we defined our terms of reference accordingly. It soon became apparent, however, that by insisting rigidly upon them, we should have to exclude much valuable work in the field of Recusant history for which there was no other organ of publication. With the permission of the Council of the Catholic Record Society, which took over editorial direction in 1953, we began tacitly to disregard our original terms of reference and to publish research on any aspect of Recusant history. Our new title, therefore, is not an indication of a break in policy but a formal endorsement of a change which has been gradually taking place for some time. We hope to publish in future, in addition to specialised biographical and bibliographical studies, some articles based on original research but more general in their scope than anything we have so far printed. We also want to relate the periodical more closely to the affairs of the Catholic Record Society, and from time to time we shall print a resumé of the Society's activities.

A.F.A.
D.M.R.

THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY:
TALKS TO BE HELD JAN.-MAY 1957

On October 16 1956 the Society inaugurated a series of public talks entitled *Examples of Research Work*. The purpose is to explain how specific pieces of historical research have been carried out. Each speaker describes the methods he used, the sources to which he went and the problems he had to solve. The first talk was given by Brigadier F.B. Trappes-Lomax C.B.E., who described the research which he had recently done on the visitation of the Midlands and the North by Bishop Leyburn in 1687.

It is hoped that these accounts of work done will not only be interesting in themselves, but will encourage others to take up similar research by suggesting the most productive methods to employ. The amount of material awaiting attention is vast and each piece of work done will add to our knowledge.

The following talks will be given in the new year:

January 15

Research work necessary for editing the *Mawhood Diary*. By E.E. Reynolds, Esq., J.P. [The *Mawhood Diary* is in process of being published by the Society.]

March 19

On tackling the Recusant Rolls. By Fr. Hugh Bowler O.S.B.

May 21

Documents connected with the Archpriest Controversy. By Miss Penelope Renold.

All meetings are at 114 Mount Street, W.1 and will begin at 7 p.m.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE
BREVE COMPENDIO. THE BACKGROUND TO
THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 1612

By A.F. ALLISON

Twenty-five years ago two scholars working independently published the results of their researches on the origin and early history of the late sixteenth century mystical treatise known as *Breve compendio intorno alla perfezione cristiana*. Marcel Viller S.J., in an article in *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* (1931)¹, settled the question of authorship and provided an invaluable account of the circumstances in which the treatise was composed. Jean Dagens, writing in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (1931)² on Bérulle's *Bref discours de l'abnégation intérieure*, which is based on the *Breve compendio*, discussed the history of the work in France. These two studies aroused considerable interest at the time and led to the publication of further articles and notes. Dagens summarises the results of this research in his chapter on the *Bref discours* in his recent extensive study, *Bérulle et les origines de la restauration catholique, 1575-1611* (1952)³. After such thorough investigation it may seem doubtful whether any further really important discoveries are likely to be made, but within certain limits there is still scope for enquiry, and in the present note I want to discuss briefly an English translation of the *Breve compendio*, first published in 1612, which was unknown to Viller and Dagens. First it will be necessary to summarise what they say about the early history of the original work.

Before the publication of Viller's article in 1931 there was considerable uncertainty about the authorship of the work. Some of the early editions attributed it to Achille Gagliardi, the distinguished Jesuit theologian and friend of St. Charles Borromeo; others, without mentioning Gagliardi, simply stated that the author was generally thought to have been a Milanese lady of the sixteenth century. Both these attributions, as Viller has shown, contained an element of truth. The author was Isabella Christina Bellinzaga who lived in Milan in the late sixteenth century and composed the work under the guidance of Gagliardi who was her spiritual director. Using previously unpublished

THE 'BREVE COMPENDIO' IN ENGLISH

documents, including letters of Gagliardi himself, Viller examines the relationship between Isabella and the Jesuits.

Achille Gagliardi went to the Casa Professa at Milan in 1580, when he was about forty-three years old. He had already won a great reputation as a theologian and had been professor of theology both at the Roman College and at Padua. He became Rector of the Milan house in 1584. Not long after he first went there he became spiritual director to this young noblewoman, Isabella Bellinzaga, on whom, as it seemed to all who encountered her, God had bestowed extraordinary spiritual gifts. Gagliardi was convinced that God was using Isabella as his instrument to reform the spiritual life of the Church by teaching souls the true way to mystical contemplation. For a time the Jesuit General, Acquaviva, looked with favour on the relationship between Isabella and the fathers at Milan, allowing her, although she was not a religious, to take the simple vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, binding herself by this fast to her spiritual director. But, as time went on, he became worried at the extraordinary influence which she exercised over the house at Milan and he also began to have grave doubts as to the orthodoxy of her writings which she was circulating with Gagliardi's approval. Eventually, in 1594, after much hesitation, he decided to move Gagliardi to another house where he would be separated from Isabella, and to submit copies of her writings to the judgment of the Holy See. For seven years the matter rested; then in March 1601 Clement VIII gave his decision, which was adverse to Isabella. He censured Gagliardi for believing that she was divinely inspired and forbade them both to have any further correspondence with each other. All copies of her writings that could be found were gathered up and placed under lock and key in the Jesuit Provincial archives in Milan. Gagliardi and Isabella submitted to the decision without question. She withdrew into obscurity and died some twenty years later. His career in the Society does not seem to have been seriously affected, though he never achieved really high office. He was appointed Rector of the Casa Professa at Venice in 1599 and he remained in that post until 1606 when he went to Modena, where he died in 1607.

THE 'BREVE COMPENDIO' IN ENGLISH

Most of Isabella's writings seem to have been circulated in manuscript, but there is some evidence that the *Breve compendio* was printed at quite an early date, before the crisis developed. As recently as 1923, P. Scheuer S.J., in an article entitled "Notes bibliographiques sur la contemplation infuse" recorded the following: "Anonyme religieuse de Milan, *De l'abnégation intérieure, De la perfection chrétienne*, Crémone, 1585"⁴. Unfortunately, he omitted to give the source of his information. Neither Viller nor Dagens was able to find any Italian edition printed before Clement VIII's decision of 1601. A French translation, made possibly from an Italian manuscript, is known to have been printed at Paris in 1596, and Dagens thinks that this French version, now no longer extant, was the source used by Bérulle for his *Bref discours de l'abnégation intérieure*, printed in 1597. Another French translation was printed at Paris in 1598. Though no copy of the Paris edition is known to have survived, the same translation was reprinted at Arras in 1599 together with Bérulle's *Bref discours*, and Dagens records a copy of this edition in the library of the Jesuits at Louvain.

The French text of 1598 is the earliest version of the *Breve compendio* known to exist. It has a dedicatory epistle addressed "Aux ames vrayement unies avec Dieu", dated from Paris, 13 July 1598 and signed with the initials D.C.M. We do not know what the initials signify. The writer of the epistle tells us next to nothing about the origin of the work, merely remarking that it was thought to have been composed by a lady of Milan. He speaks of an earlier French translation - presumably that of 1596 - "mis en lumiere par le soin et diligence de quelque gentilhomme gascon", which was full of faults and obscurities, and he says that the present translation has been undertaken with the help of a number of doctors and theologians in order to rescue this splendid spiritual treatise from the dishonour done to it by the former translator.

In 1612, the *Breve compendio* appeared in an English translation entitled: *An abridgment of Christian perfection. Wherein are conteyned many excellent documents, precepts, & aduertisments touching the holy, & sacred mysticall diuinity. Translated out of the French corrected copie, into English*⁵. Only one copy is known to have survived, and that is at the English College, Rome⁶. The translation is based on the

THE 'BREVE COMPENDIO' IN ENGLISH

French of 1598 and appears to contain all the parts indicated by Dagens in his analysis of the Arras reprint of 1599. It has three prefatory epistles: one is a translation of the French epistle of 1598, signed D.C.M.; one, addressed "To the Religious of our Nation", commends the work to English readers and is signed with the initials P.M.; the third, unsigned, utters a warning about possible misinterpretation of the author's teaching and is evidently intended to forestall the charge, which was in fact later made against the work, that it lends itself in places to a Quietist construction⁷. Neither of the English epistles tells us anything about the origin of the work or about the translator.

The English edition has close associations with the English Jesuits. Though it has no imprint, it can be shown on typographical grounds to have been printed at the press which they set up within their college at S. Omer in 1608 to provide Catholic books for the mission⁸. The first director of this press, to whose energies it owed much of its success in its early years, was John Wilson⁹, a secular priest who had formerly been secretary to Fr. Persons in Rome and who devoted the greater part of his life to the service of the Society. From the time when the press was set up until it temporarily closed down in 1642, he directed its operation and edited texts for publication. As we shall see, he had a great deal to do with the early history of the *Breve compendio* in English. But although Wilson identified himself with the life of the college, he never became a Jesuit himself. He was a man of private means, and he enjoyed considerable independence. This fact is of some importance for our present study.

Early Jesuit sources - the 1632 List and Alegambe (1643)¹⁰ - attribute the translation to the English Jesuit, Anthony Hoskins, Vice-Prefect of the English Mission, who was living at Brussels at the time when the book was published¹¹. Hoskins had entered the Society in Spain in 1594 at the age of twenty-five, and he had spent several years (1601-1609) on the mission in England before he was recalled to the Spanish Netherlands to exercise the office of Vice-Prefect. He remained at Brussels for three years, from 1610 until 1613 when he was sent to Spain to become Rector of the English College at Madrid. The only writings that he is known to have published during his extremely active career belong

to this brief period at Brussels when he was within easy reach of the printing press at S. Omer. In 1611 he contributed an anonymous pamphlet to the controversy over the Oath of Allegiance in reply to Barclay's *De potestate Papae*.¹² In the same year he published anonymously a small compilation for English readers justifying the Jesuits in France against the contumely heaped upon them after the murder of Henri IV in 1610.¹³ In addition to these two works, according to the 1632 List and Alegambe, he published a translation of the *Imitatio Christi* and the translation of the *Breve compendio* which we are now discussing. The words of the 1632 List are: "Transtulit ex Latino in Anglicum Thomam a Kempis impressum Audomari saepius. Item transtulit Epitomem Christianae Perfectionis, impressum Audomari, 1612."

The early Jesuit bibliographers, when they recorded translations, seldom distinguished between work done independently and work done in collaboration. The translation of a Catholic book of devotion at this period was often the joint labour of layman and priest, the layman preparing the draft of the text and the priest acting as reviser and editor. Sometimes we have no means of knowing whether a translation attributed to a Jesuit was a work of collaboration or not. The English version of the *Imitatio Christi*, attributed to Hoskins, "impressus Audomari saepius", is a case in point. The only Catholic version of the *Imitatio* in English, known to have been printed at this period, came from the College press, S. Omer, in 1613, and was reprinted several times in the next ten years.¹⁴ This would seem almost certainly to be the translation to which the 1632 List refers, yet the titlepage of the book reads "... translated into English by B.F." and it is possible - though we have no evidence - that the initials conceal the identity of someone with whom Hoskins was collaborating.

When we turn to the translation of the *Breve compendio*, we are on surer ground. It contains a preface headed "To the Religious of our Nation", signed with the initials P.M. These are the initials of Mary Percy,¹⁵ a nun of the English Benedictine convent at Brussels, and there is independent evidence that she collaborated with Hoskins in translating the work. Mary Percy was the daughter of Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who was executed in 1572 for his share in the Northern

THE 'BREVE COMPENDIO' IN ENGLISH

ising. After her father's execution, Mary was brought up in exile in the Spanish Netherlands. She became a nun, first joining the Augustinian nuns, but later she determined to found a Benedictine convent, and as a result of her efforts the house at Brussels, the first post-Reformation Benedictine foundation for English women, was opened in 1598. Mary herself later became its second abbess, succeeding Joanna Berkeley in 1616. The convent, though following the Benedictine rule, was at this period under the spiritual direction of the English Jesuits, and Hoskins while he was living at Brussels would have had a good deal to do with its affairs. Our information that Mary Percy prepared the translation of the *Breve compendio* under his supervision comes indirectly from one of the nuns who belonged to the Brussels community at the time.

In 1623 another Benedictine convent for English nuns was founded at Cambrai, and Mary Percy, who was now abbess at Brussels, sent several of her own nuns to instruct the novices of the new convent in the Benedictine rule. Unlike the Brussels convent, that at Cambrai was independent of the Jesuits; it was placed from the outset under the direction of the English Benedictine monks, and it had as its first director the celebrated Benedictine mystical writer, Augustine Baker. At Cambrai, Baker became interested in the *Breve compendio*, finding in its mystical teaching an inspiration which was later to reveal itself in some of his own writings. What is of particular interest to us here is that he wrote a short treatise on the authorship of the work and prefixed to it a verbatim transcript of the English translation of 1612. This work, in manuscript, dated 1629, is in the library of Downside Abbey. ¹⁶ We shall consider it in general terms later; for the present we can confine ourselves to the information he gives about the English translation, based on what he has heard from one of the former Brussels nuns now at Cambrai. ¹⁷ It appears that Hoskins translated the French preface of 1598 himself, helped Mary Percy with the text of the work, and arranged for the book to be published. Baker writes:

"In the year, 1612, it was Translated, and set forth in English by & under the name of the Lady Mary piercy, then and now Abbess of Brussels; Translated out of the French, Verbatim, and Truely, and in All things according to y^e foresaid French edition of 1598, with y^e foresaid preface to the English, as it was in the French. And there

are within this House 3 or 4 Books of y^e said English Translation of y^e year, 1612. The w^{ch} preface was so Translated into English, by Fa: Antony Hoskins, of y^e Society of Jesus (as I have bin Informed by One of y^e Dames of this House, who then was of Brussels) the w^{ch} preface so Translated by him was put in y^e Forepart of y^e said English Edition; the Residue (I mean, the whole Body of the Book) being of y^e Translation of y^e said Lady Abbess: whom y^e said Father A. Hoskins did moreover somewhat Aid (as I am likewise Informed) in y^e Translation of y^e said Body of the Book; and did procure, or Help for y^e getting of it printed and was the first publisher of it ...,"¹⁸

Hoskins had no further connection with the work. He left Brussels in 1613 and went to Spain where he died two years later. Mary Percy lived for another thirty years, but as far as we know she did not write anything more for publication. She evidently had noting to do with the preparation of a second edition of her translation of the *Breve compendio* which John Wilson edited and printed at the College press, S. Omer, in 1625.¹⁹ In this edition, of which several copies still survive, Wilson made certain alterations, one of which concerned the translator. He omitted Mary Percy's initials from the epistle "To the Religious of our Nation" and inserted those of Anthony Hoskins in their place. He also added to the titlepage a statement that the work was "translated into English by A.H." Baker has the following comment:

"... in the year 1625, there was a New Edition in English of the said Book, Called The Abridgment, together wth the Ladder of perfection. The w^{ch} Edition was made by the Means and Industry of Some One of the Fathers of the Society: and most probable, yea certain it is that Fa: Wilson was the Setter forth of it ... whereas in y^e Foresaid Edition of 1612, there was (in the Beginning of it) a Certain Epistle Made & subscribed wth the Name of P.M. (w^{ch} do signify Mary piercy, then and now, Lady Abbess of the Benedictin Nunnery of Brussels, who had, as before I have Heard, so Translated the Book into English, and was Commonly by Others Esteemed to be the Translator of it) Now Fa: Wilson, in his Edition, of 1625 ... sayth, that it was Translated into English, by Fa: Antony Hoskins ... and in lieu of the letters, P.M. subscribed to the foresaid Epistle, he hath set down, A.H. by w^{ch} is Signified Antony Hoskins ..."²⁰

THE 'BREVE COMPENDIO' IN ENGLISH

We do not know why Wilson altered the translator's initials. Possibly an excess of zeal for the Society - though he was not himself Jesuit - coupled with his certain knowledge that Hoskins had made some contribution to the work, influenced him unduly. On the other hand, he may have had reasons of which we are ignorant. A year or two later he made amends for his error by reissuing the book with a new titlepage, substituting the initials M.P. for A.H. This reissue is also extant.²¹ Baker has several observations to make about it. It bears the date 1626, but Baker says that this is an error and that it was in fact printed in 1628. Wilson published it, he says, as a result of representations made to him on Mary Percy's behalf while he was living in Brussels for a period. He does not give the date of Wilson's stay in Brussels - an incident in his life about which we know next to nothing - but he says that he was there "Negotiating a certain Famous publique businesse (being the Businesse of Gravelinge)", which suggests that it took place in 1627 when the Jesuits placed before the Nuntio in Brussels information about the convent of Poor Clares at Gravelines, near S. Omer, which was rent with discord on the old question of spiritual directors. Here are Baker's words:

"In the year 1626 (but indeed it was in y^e year 1628, though the print do Signify it to be in the year, 1626) Fa: Wilson made a New Edition, in All things Answerable to y^e foresaid Edition of 1625; save that insted of Fa: Hoskins, he setteth down, that it was Translated into English, By the Honourable & Religious Lady, the Lady M.P. wch is Meant of the Lady Mary piercy Abbesse at Brussels. It is probable, that Fa: Wilson Abiding (as he did) for some time at Brussels, there Negotiating a certain Famous publique Businesse (being the Businesse of Graveling) was put in mind, on y^e behalfe of the said Lady Abbesse of some wrong or Indignity done unto her, by his edition of 1625; in wch he had Bereaved her of her Desert in the Translation, and Edition of the Book, and in her place had put in Another (wch was Fa: A.Hoskins) as the Translator and Setter forth of it; and insted of the Name of P.M. (wch was in the Edition of 1612) subscribed to the Epistle, had Brought in the same Fa: Antony Hoskins. Whereupon, Fa: Wilson did set forth the said New Edition of 1626, Bringing in Madam of Brussels, in place of Fa: Hoskins ..."²²

To return to the edition of 1625. The substitution of the initials H. for P.M. was not the only alteration which Wilson made in re-editing

the text of the 1612 edition. He also made a sweeping change concerning the authorship of the original work. The titlepage of Wilson's edition reads: *An abridgment of Christian perfection. Containing many excellent precepts, & aduertisements, touching the holy, and sacred mysticall diuinity. Written in Italian, by Fa: Achilles Gagliardi of the Society of Iesus, & translated into English: by A.H. of the same society. The second edition.* He left the attribution to Gagliardi unaltered in the "1626" reissue. To understand the reasons we much retrace our steps a little. In 1612 there was published at Paris a French version of the *Breve compendio* by the distinguished Jesuit writer, later Provincial of France, Etienne Binet. The title runs: *Petit abrege de la perfection chrestien. Avec vne merueilleuse pratique pour vnir l'ame a son Dieu. Par le R.P. Achilles Gagliardi theologien de la Compagnie de Iesus. Traduit par vn pere de la mesme Compagnie.*²³ It contains in fact only the first part of the work; there is no trace of the "merveilleuse pratique" which presumably corresponded to the section called "The Ladder of perfection" in the English translation. The important point about it for our present enquiry is that it attributes the authorship for the first time, as far as we know, to Gagliardi, and omits all reference to the lady of Milan. When Mary Percy and Hoskins published their English version in 1612, they probably knew no more about what they were translating than the French preface of 1598 told them; they could hardly have seen Binet's edition, with Gagliardi's name on the titlepage, before their own went to press. But in 1625 when Wilson, who had been at S. Omer for about fifteen years and who had a wide knowledge of foreign books and writers, published the second edition of their translation, he would certainly have known of Binet's edition and there is no doubt that he would have accepted Binet's authority for attributing the work to Gagliardi.

What was Binet's authority? All we know is that he joined the Society of Jesus at Novellara in the Venetian Province in 1590, and that he remained in this province until he returned to his own country in 1605. He was thus in the same province as Gagliardi when the affair of Isabella Bellinzaga came to a head in 1601, and he can hardly have failed to know about it. His edition of 1612 bears no imprimatur and we do not know who gave him permission to publish it, but either he or

his superiors evidently thought it prudent to omit all reference to Isabella. Eight years later, when he reprinted the translation in his *Recueil des oeuvres spirituelles*, dedicated to Marie de Medici and published with the approbation of the Vicar-General to the Archbishop of Rouen, he omitted all reference to Gagliardi as well, treating the work as if it were anonymous. It would seem from this, and also from the fact that contemporary Jesuit bibliographers, such as Ribadeneira and Possevin, are silent about it, that the Society at this period was not anxious for its connection with the work to be made public. It is even possible that the 1612 edition was unofficially suppressed after publication, so rarely is it to be found today. Marcel Viller was unaware of its existence and thought that the tradition ascribing the work to Gagliardi could not be traced back earlier than about 1635.²⁴

If Binet acted indiscreetly in attaching Gagliardi's name to the work, Wilson went a stage further. He omitted the preface of 1598, translated from the French by Hoskins, in which the authorship was attributed to a lady of Milan, and he introduced into the translator's preface, over the initials of Hoskins who was now dead, the following lines ascribing the work to Gagliardi:

"This little Booke ... being first written in Italian by the R. Father Achilles Galliard of the Society of Jesus, and deliuered ouer, in written papers only vnto an Honourable and very deuout Lady of Millan, for her priuate instruction, and better aduancement in spirituall matters, was some years past gotten out of her Closet, and communicated to more, then it was at first intended. For a little after it was carryed into France and there translated and printed in the French tongue ..."²⁵

To be consistent, he was also forced to tamper with the text. Mary Percy's translation included the second part of the work, "The Ladder of Perfection", which Binet omitted from his version. Near the end of this second part occurs a sentence which she translated thus: "Whilest I was writing a Copy of this Book, Our Lord made this Virtuouse Dame, that Composed it to understand that she should Advertise me of this that followeth, that I might set it down in y^e end of this work ..."²⁶ The writer, we may suppose, was Gagliardi himself, and the sentence in

no way conflicts with the conclusion reached by Viller that Isabella Bellinzaga composed the work under his guidance. But Wilson alters this sentence to read: "Whilest I was writing a copy of this book, our Lord inspired this vertuous Dame *for whome it was first composed*, that she should aduertise me ..."²⁷ Another sentence in the "Ladder of Perfection" was translated thus by Mary Percy: "And she that wrote this Discourse, witnesseth to have proved & found this Many times in herselfe; viz, that in thinking on y^e Sanctity of some such person, she much marvelled; but not wthstanding she did not fall into Unquietnesse & Confusion ..."²⁸ Throughout this passage, Wilson substitutes "he" and "his" for "she" and "her".²⁹

Wilson's alterations and interpolations aroused resentment, particularly among those predisposed against the Society, for he was commonly believed to be a Jesuit. Augustine Baker seems to have had a deep-seated suspicion of the Jesuits all his life. He was out of sympathy with their methods of training for the spiritual life and he resented the control which they exercised over the Benedictine nuns at Brussels. When Wilson tampered with the text of the *Breve compendio*, Baker put the worst construction on his action. In the convent library at Cambrai, he tells us in his *Enquiry*, were copies of the 1598 French edition and the 1612 English edition. He was thus familiar with the tradition ascribing the work to a lady of Milan, though he knew nothing about Isabella Bellinzaga and her relationship with Gagliardi. He knew of Binet's translation in which the work was first attributed, without evidence, to Gagliardi,³⁰ and he could see how Wilson, in order to follow Binet, had suppressed or altered everything in Hoskins's edition which conflicted with Gagliardi's authorship. He concluded that the Jesuits were conspiring to pervert the truth for the glorification of their own order.³¹

It is, of course, difficult to justify Wilson. He seems to have allowed his enthusiasm for the Society to get the better of him, assuming too readily that the awkward passages were corrupt and, in the cavalier manner of his time, silently altering them to conform with what he believed to be the truth. But, whatever one may think about Wilson, there is no ground for thinking that there was a Jesuit conspiracy. As

we have already seen, there are signs that the Society at large was anxious that its connection with the work should not be made public. Baker was completely unaware that the orthodoxy of the lady of Milan was suspect and that her writings had been suppressed. Wilson, who seems to have been as ignorant as Baker about the facts, might never have been allowed to publish his edition if the press at S. Omer had not occupied a unique and specially privileged position, existing as it did for the purpose of providing books for England during a time of emergency and being to a large degree exempt from the normal controls. It is probable that the English Jesuits in the College at S. Omer knew no more than Wilson knew about the history of the *Breve compendio* and allowed him a free hand in editing the text.

Baker, after showing up Wilson, proceeds to use a curious *a priori* argument to prove that no Jesuit could possibly have written the *Breve compendio*. The spiritual training of the Jesuits, he says, with its insistence on visual images and discursive prayer, tends to erect a barrier which impedes the soul seeking true mystical contemplation. Their methods, he says, belong to an inferior level of the spiritual life and are of doubtful value because they tend to restrict the soul in its upward flight. Such methods are incompatible with the sublime mystical teaching of the *Breve compendio*. He has a particular abhorrence for the work of the Jesuit theologian, Alonzo Rodriguez, which seems to him to epitomise all that he most dislikes in Jesuit teaching. Wilson had recently published Rodriguez's *Exercicio de perfeccion* in an English translation at the College press,³² and Baker was alarmed at the enthusiasm with which the work had been greeted by some of the Benedictine nuns at Brussels and Gant and even in his own convent at Cambrai. It is worth quoting his own words for the light they throw on the background to the whole affair:

"I have written the more of Rodrigues, because that his said Book of Mentall Prayer, hath bin sent to this House (viz, One from the Benedictines of Brussels, and Another from those of Gant) wth such Singular Commendations, as if there were none but he. And Some in the House do Extoll it as much: whereas, indeed, the Book is even Nothing at all for the purpose of that Spirit, w^{ch} should be, and Reign, in this House, and throughout our whole Order."³³

THE 'BREVE COMPENDIO' IN ENGLISH

To discuss Baker's general argument on Jesuit spirituality is outside the scope of the present article, but its irrelevance is manifest when we recall that Gagliardi was Isabella's spiritual director. The *a priori* reasoning which would deny the work to him should also deny it to her. Viller's researches have shown that Isabella was so devoted to the Society that she bound herself to it by vow and performed every day the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. In the light of this knowledge, Baker's argument makes ironical reading.

NOTES

1. Année 12, no. 45, pp. 44-89, "L'Abrégé de la perfection de la dame milanaise". Copy in the Bodleian Library.
2. Année 31, tom. 27, pp. 318-349, "Notes Bérulliennes. La source du 'Bref discours de l'abnégation intérieure'".
3. Published by Desclée, De Brouwer & Cie.
4. *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 1923-24, p. 8.
5. Not in STC. Allison & Rogers no. 349.
6. Unfortunately it is at present mislaid. The late Fr. C.A. Newdigate S.J. recorded the existence of this copy in his unpublished notes (kept at Farm St.) on Catholic books of the penal times. For the text of the 1612 edition I have used the verbatim transcript made by Augustine Baker in 1629 from a copy then in the convent library at Cambrai. I refer to Baker's work more fully later in this article.
7. It was for this reason placed on the Index in 1703 and only removed at the end of the last century (Viller, p. 53).
8. As the only copy is at present mislaid, I have not been able to examine the types and ornaments used. My authority is Fr. C.A. Newdigate who made a special study of the S. Omer press.
9. For a brief account of him, see Newdigate, "Notes on the Seventeenth Century Printing Press of the English College at Saint Omer", *The Library*, 1919, pp. 179-190, 223-242.
10. I have discussed these sources in a previous article (*Biographical Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 189-190).
11. For Hoskins, see Foley, vol. 4, p. 392; and CRS., vol. 30, p. 14.
12. Allison & Rogers no. 405
13. Allison & Rogers no. 32.

THE 'BREVE COMPENDIO' IN ENGLISH

14. Allison & Rogers nos.815, etc.
15. For an account of Mary Percy and her foundation, see Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, pp.256, etc.; and Whelan, *Historical English Convents of today*, pp.39, etc.
16. Shelfmark D.4. Serial no.28 in Justin McCann's "Register of Fr. Baker's Writings" appended to his edition of the lives of Baker by Salvin and Gressy (1933). I am deeply indebted to the Abbot of Downside for allowing me to use the manuscript. It is bound in contemporary vellum and is written in the same hand throughout. After the text of the *Abridgment* (including the second part, entitled "The Ladder of Perfection") comes *An Enquiry about the Author of the Foregoing Treatises of the Abridgment, & the Ladder of Perfection. Composed by the R. F. A.B. Monk of y^e H. Order of S. Benedict*.
17. The nuns sent from Brussels in 1623 were Dame Frances Gawen, Dame Pudiana Deacons and Dame Viviana Yaxley (CRS. xiii, p.1). Baker's informant was presumably one of these.
18. pp.8-9.
19. Allison & Rogers nos.350,351.
20. pp.16-17. "The Ladder of Perfection" forms the second part of the *Abridgment* and is likewise translated from the French of 1598; it appears in both the 1612 and the 1625 English editions. John Wilson was never a Jesuit, and Mary Percy was not yet an abbess in 1612, but these inaccuracies do not invalidate Baker's evidence.
21. Allison & Rogers no.352.
22. pp.24-25. The "New Edition" is really a reissue of the sheets of the 1625 edition with a cancel title.
23. The only copy known to me is at the British Museum (pressmark: C.111.2.16).
24. Viller was aware of Binet's translation in *Receuil des oeuvres spirituelles* where Gagliardi's name is not mentioned, and he expresses surprise that Binet does not mention Gagliardi. I take my information about Binet's early career in the Society from Viller's article.
25. Wilson's 1625 edition, pp.3-4.
26. Baker's transcript of 1612 ed., p.50.
27. Wilson's 1625 ed., p.194. Italics mine.
28. Baker's transcript of 1612 ed., p.44.
29. Wilson's 1625 ed., pp.184-185.
30. Whether he ever saw a copy of Binet's 1612 edition is doubtful, for his knowledge of it is far from precise. He mistakenly calls the translator "F. Francis Binet" and he speaks of the work as having been published "About the year 1620". (*Enquiry*, p.10.)
31. So also did his superior, Rudesind Barlow, the President of the English Benedictine Congregation, who gave his approbation to the work, wording it thus: "This Book, Called, An Enquiry, &c may Lawfully be Read; for it Containeth Nothing but a Manifest Discovery of Foul play, and probable Arguments to prove that Truth, after w^{ch} it Inquireth". (Titlepage verso. Dated 20 November 1629.)
32. Allison & Rogers Nos.737,738.
33. p.58.

THE VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON, MARTYRED AT
CARLISLE IN 1597. THE EVIDENCE CONCERNING HIS PLACE
OF BIRTH AND THE PLACE AND DATE OF HIS EXECUTION.

By J.E. BAMBER

Of the Venerable Christopher Robinson, who died for his Faith in Carlisle (in what year we shall see later), practically nothing save the name of his betrayer has been recorded since the days of Bishop Challoner. Among the Knaresborough MSS. as Everingham¹ is a 17th Century transcript of a letter of some ten large folio pages entitled: "The death of Mr. Boost written by Mr. Robinson priest, who shortly afterward dyed in the same glorious manner at Carlisle." An extract from this document was given in Challoner and the text is now printed in full in C.R.S.² But for the few known facts about the Martyr's own life we have depended almost entirely on Challoner's somewhat vague compilation of only eighteen lines.

These notes are offered to the reader with some misgivings and apology for their complexity. For, as all who have tried to write (or preach) about this little known priest will testify, facts, or even reliable conjectures, about him are singularly difficult to establish. Yet this Venerable Martyr ought in all justice to hold a more important place than he does, being the only one for the whole of the County of Cumberland whose name is featured in the official Martyr List. To his heroism the tribute of a little research has been long overdue.

Three questions in the Martyr's history - his birthplace and the date and place of his execution - must be discussed at some length, for on these points there has previously been confusion and it is essential to clarify them. The date and place of his execution can now, I think, be settled beyond dispute; his birthplace beyond all likely dispute. To the discussion of these problems we shall add in due place a number of details in his life. But, most important of all for the Martyr's *Causa Mortis*, we shall also call attention to a hitherto unknown document which is, in effect, an equivalent of his indictment.

Birthplace

To start with the place of his birth is not quite so simple as it sounds. For while we know the name of the district in which he was born, no-one has yet proved to which of several areas, each bearing the same name, he does in fact belong. The First Douay Diary, our oldest authority, records him as coming from the Diocese of Carlisle,³ but names no particular township or parish within that extensive diocese. Dr. Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, a contemporary, who took considerable pains to verify the birthplaces of the Martyrs, is more precise. He is the first - and very safe - authority for the statement that the Ven. Christopher Robinson was "natus apud Woodside in comitatu Cumbriae."⁴ The mention of Cumberland rather than of Carlisle is more useful than at first appears; for the Diocese of Carlisle embraced considerable territory not included in the County of Cumberland, in which, to make matters complicated, there happen to be several Woodsides. These may be eliminated at once from our present consideration. But even so there are still at least three Woodsides both in the Diocese and in the County; and for each of these there has sprung up a separate school of adherents claiming the Martyr as its own. The oldest, and traditional, claimant is the very tiny Woodside about three or four miles south by east of Carlisle, in the present ecclesiastical parish of Wreay and in the township of Brisco in the civil parish of St. Cuthbert's Without, Carlisle. This, for convenience, we shall call Woodside Carlisle. The other two are not far from Wigton, some twelve miles south-west of the City of Carlisle. The first of these is about a mile and half north-east of the Parish Church of Wigton, in whose ecclesiastical parish it is, though for civil purposes it was separated in 1894 from the ancient parish of Wigton-cum-Woodside. This will be referred to as Woodside Wigton. The other is in the present ecclesiastical parish of Rosley. As both Rosley and this Woodside are townships of Westward, we shall keep the name it has already assumed, viz, Woodside Westward. The question to be settled, therefore, is this: Was Christopher Robinson born at Wigton, at Westward, or at Carlisle?

The first statement that our Martyr originated from the district of Wigton is that contained in the *Diocesan History of Carlisle* (1889) by Richard Saul Ferguson, Chancellor of the Diocese.⁵ The late Canon

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

Wilson. Editor of the *Victoria County History of Cumberland*, followed Ferguson in giving "Woodside, near Wigton".⁶ Unless they were being deliberately vague in not differentiating between Wigton and Westward (which would indicate some uncertainty in the opinion they held) this would normally be taken as referring to Woodside Wigton. At any rate, it has been so taken by many from the district. But the Chancellor gives no authority for his statement, and the Canon mentions only Challoner and the Douay Diaries, which, by themselves, can hardly be said to justify him.

On the other hand, Mr. J.B. Wainewright of Penrith, writing in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1912),⁷ gives the birthplace as "Woodside near Westward", though he names as his authorities only Challoner and Gillow, who both avoid the question, and Wilson, who gives "Woodside, near Wigton".

Against both these opinions, however, I believe that the evidence overwhelmingly favours Woodside Carlisle, which should never have been abandoned. This is the Woodside implied, if not explicitly stated, by Foley (1880).⁸

There are some four main contemporary groups of sources likely to determine the question. These are:-

(1) Cumberland Wills, Inventories and Administrations. An extraordinarily large collection of Robinson wills, etc. is preserved in the Probate Registry at Carlisle. There are no less than a hundred and thirty Robinson wills alone from the time they begin in 1564 until the end of the century.

(2) The Court Rolls. Among the muniments at Cockermouth Castle are preserved the Court Rolls for a large part of Cumberland, including the Barony of Wigton and Westward. The collection is a vast one. Part of it has been transcribed and translated and part is still in its original state. Woodside Carlisle does not feature in the Rolls at Cockermouth; but there is in Carlisle itself a corresponding record in the original Roll of the "Manor of Botchardgate", which includes Woodside and Wreay.⁹

(3) The Cumberland Muster Rolls, preserved in London at the Public Record Office. These lists, calendared among the Border Papers, give the names of all called up for the inspection of men and arms etc. in the various parts of the County. As every male adult was bound by law to present himself (even if he failed to comply his name was noted) and as the gatherings were made in small local units, such lists are of value in determining the place of residence of everyone concerned. By good fortune there was a muster in Cumberland covering all three places in question during the period of our Martyr's boyhood. (1581).

(4) Land and Tenancy Surveys. A survey of the Percy estates in Cumberland was made in 1578 and details of freeholders and tenants - at-will are herein giving for both Wigton and Westward. The Survey has never been printed but a MS. copy of the original is preserved in two folio volumes in the Jackson Library, Carlisle.

The Parish Registers, which might have settled the question beyond all argument, are of no assistance at all. Wigton starts only in 1603/4,¹⁰ and Westward in 1605. Woodside Carlisle would not, in the 16th Century, be represented as now at Wreay but in the Registers of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle. These, as now preserved, begin only in 1693.¹¹

We may now consider the evidence for each of the three Woodsides.

In favour of Woodside Wigton we have - to begin at the end - the statements of Ferguson and Wilson. The question was not an important one for either. Among the Wigton Wills I examined those for William Robinson (1589), Anthony (1593), Robert (1597) and Nicholas (1606), without result. The Court Rolls at Cockermouth have many references to Robinsons. But while those for the Barony of Wigton refer to Woodside in connection with some few other names, there seems to be an absence of reference to any Robinsons of Woodside.¹² The Muster Rolls for Feb. 14th, 1581 name three Robinsons for the "Barony of Wigdon", viz. Nicholas, Michael and Anthony. But these were not from Woodside; for later on in the Rolls a separate muster for Woodside is recorded. In this no Robinsons at all appear and it may safely be concluded that none of that name were living there. This conclusion is supported by the Percy Survey,

for of some eleven freeholders and fourteen tenants-at-will at Woodside Wigton no Robinsons are named. Thus there seems to be no case at all for placing the birth of Christopher Robinson at Woodside Wigton.

Next for Woodside Westward. The most promising Robinson Wills, e.g. those of Agnes (1584) and Janet (1592), both of Westward, and Elizabeth (1592) of Thursby, again settle nothing. But the Court Rolls at Cocker-mouth are much more suggestive. The name Christopher Robinson occurs many times among jurymen or tenants between the years 14 and 26 Hen.VIII (1522-1534). On 23rd Sept., 1534 a Christopher Robinson was "presented for scolding against Richard Berwys of Rethuate by calling him a cuckold and could not prove it." But how many persons these various entries represent, or if they mark any relative of the Martyr, it would be difficult to say. In Cumberland there is a prevalent practice of calling the first grandson by the name of his grandfather, and the dates would certainly allow a Christopher of this time to be grandfather to the Martyr. But this, though possible, cannot be established from the Court Rolls. No Christopher of a later date was traced. In the Muster Roll for Westward, five Robinsons are named (1581), viz. John, John, George, William and John, without anything to indicate from what portion of the district any of them came. The Percy Survey would seem to eliminate four if not all of them, for four Westward Robinsons are named as tenants at the following places: J. Robinson at Rethuate; Jo. Robinson at Fosterfold; George Robinson at the Intak at Woodcokefeild and Robinsonfield; and Jo. Robinson at Urethwaite. William is not named in the Survey as a tenant. He probably dwelt with one of the others. It is very improbable that he lived at Woodside, for only two tenants are named for Woodside and neither is a Robinson. The Court Rolls offer some confirmation of the above, for in 1597 two John Robinsons of Westward are succeeded by their sons (also Johns) at Rethuate and Foster Foulds, and in 1595 a William Robinson of Westward paid the fine of £10 for Foster Fould. Thus it looks as if all the Westward Robinsons about the time of the Martyr's birth can be accounted for without Woodside.

The third claimant, more or less considered to be eliminated since Ferguson and Wilson brought Wigton into the question, is Woodside

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

Carlisle. There is an ancient tradition in its favour - a tradition which, in the course of time, has become somewhat confused, but which still persists. There are two points about it which are of special interest. First, the tradition still remains that the Martyr, Christopher Robinson, and the Bishop of Carlisle, Henry Robinson, were related to each other. Colour is lent to this tradition by the fact that Henry Robinson is known to have visited the Martyr when he was in prison and tried to dissuade him.¹³ Previously, little credence has been attached by any historian to the tradition of relationship between Henry and Christopher. It has been argued that Henry, in virtue of his position as Bishop of Carlisle, would have visited the priest in the ordinary course of his duty, no other reason being needed. This argument, however, falls to the ground if we can show - as we shall - that when Henry visited Christopher in prison he was not yet Bishop of Carlisle but still only Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. Chancellor Ferguson gives evidence of the tradition in a rather unexpected way. In his printed history of the Diocese of Carlisle he makes no mention of any relationship between Henry and Christopher; but in the MS. from which this history was printed (still preserved at Tullie House, Carlisle), he originally wrote and afterwards deleted the following: "The interview must have been most painful if it be true that the Protestant Bishop and the Roman Catholic priest were brothers; some have said so." He could hardly have written such a sentence unless he had had, in the first place, some grounds for believing there was a connection between the two men.

Secondly, the tradition still remains that the Bishop was a native of Carlisle. This would include, of course, such districts on the outskirts of the City as Woodside. If the Bishop's place of origin was Carlisle, and if the two men were indeed related, it seems probable that the Martyr also came from Carlisle rather than from Wigton. Ferguson throws light on this also. In his printed History he gives the birthplace of Christopher as "Woodside, near Wigton". But in the original MS. he first wrote "Woodside, near Carlisle", and then changed "Carlisle" to "Wigton". It will no doubt be argued that the alteration shows Ferguson's later judgement; but he does not give any evidence for his change of mind, and in the light of the facts which we shall give

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

below it is virtually certain that his original statement, which reflects the story as he first got it, is correct.

Now for the evidence which can be gleaned from the sources mentioned above. Among the Wills at Carlisle is one for John Robinson of Carlisle, proved in 1578. It begins: "The eight (?) of March anno dni 1577. In the name of God amen. I John Robinson of the Woodside in the parish of Saint Cuthberte..." etc. There is no possible doubt about *this* Woodside - it can only be Carlisle. The will, unfortunately, mentions no-one else except his wife Janet who was his sole executrix. As Christopher was ordained in 1592 he would probably have been born about 1568 and would thus have been only a boy of about eleven or twelve at this time. The Court Rolls of the "Manor of Botchardgate" begin only in 1650, but there is a reference to the tenants of Woodside on the very second page, the names of three (presumably the only three) being given as William Losh, Thomas Stevenson and William Robinson. Even allowing for the fact that the name is such a common one it is still significant that of only three tenants one should be a Robinson. How long the family or families held tenure at Woodside is not recorded. But it is established that Robinsons were there in 1577 and from 1650 onwards, and, as the record to be given below will show, there were some there also at the turn of the century. It may safely be stated that they were settled there.

Further information is obtained from the Muster Rolls. Woodside Carlisle, consisting of only two or three houses, was far too small to have a muster of its own. But at "Briskoo", where it would be represented, both an Edward and a Richard Robinson appeared in 1581. Were they from Brisco or from Woodside? The earliest list of Brisco tenants in the Court Roll of 1650 names no Robinson at all, and though the date of this list is too late for the argument to be conclusive there is at least a strong probability that Edward or Richard if not both was from the adjoining Woodside.

There is one more contemporary source which I have not yet indicated. Besides the Martyr, there was another Christopher Robinson, just a little later in date, who likewise went to the College of Douay

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

before proceeding to Rome, and who also became a priest. He is said to have been the Martyr's nephew.^{13a} Now when applying for admission to the English College, Rome, this second Christopher Robinson gave a useful account of himself. It starts thus: "1606. Robinson, Christopher. I am in my twenty-first year, and was born in a certain village called Woodside, Cumberland, three miles from Carlisle."¹⁴ There is no doubt that this Woodside is Woodside Carlisle. If the two Christopher Robinsons were related, and Woodside Cumberland means Woodside Carlisle for Christopher Robinson the Second, it seems probable that it means the same for Christopher Robinson the Martyr.

Taking all into account then, we may justifiably regard the Venerable Christopher Robinson as a native of Carlisle.

Life and Death

Nothing whatsoever is known of our Martyr's boyhood and our first certain date in his life is April 17th 1589, when he entered the College of Douay (then at Rheims) with Richard Beesley, Bernard Hartley, John Wilton, Francis Thwaites, William Atkinson and Peter Snow.¹⁵ His college career was a short one, for the persecution at home was raging and the number of executions was at its highest. On August 18th 1590, together with some forty five other students, he received the tonsure and first minor orders in the Holy Cross Chapel in the Church of Our Lady at Rheims.¹⁶ The remaining minor orders he received with four other Douay men at Soissons on the 29th March, 1591; and the sub-diaconate and diaconate with eight others on the 30th and 31st March respectively.¹⁷ These nine students returned to the College on April 2nd with Father Richard Monk, also of the Diocese of Carlisle, who had been ordained priest when the others received the diaconate. Almost a year later, on the 24th February 1592, Cardinal Sega conferred the priesthood on Christopher Robinson and John Cooper in his own private chapel in Rheims.¹⁸ Robinson departed for the English Mission on September 1st 1592,¹⁹ by what route it is not known. Others travelling to and from the north are known to have gone via Newcastle or Hartlepool.

Of the Martyr's short missionary career we likewise know next to nothing. It is now possible, however, to name at least one house (still

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

standing) which he used, either as a lodging. or, more likely, as a Mass-centre and occasional headquarters. This was the very secluded home of the Musgraves at Johnby, six and a half miles from Penrith and about a mile and a half from Greystoke Castle where many Cumberland recusants were kept in custody.²⁰ He also knew (well enough to be able to recognise him in Durham) Edward Musgrave of "Allstone Moor", who was present at the trial of Blessed John Boste, martyred at Durham in 1594. It is more than likely that he said Mass at two other houses in the vicinity of Carlisle - one the home at Wetheral²¹ of George Skelton, who later attacked the informer Lancaster after Robinson had been betrayed by him and caught; the other the house of Thomas Warwick at "Hereby"²² on the border of Woodside and the place where our Martyr was eventually to suffer. It is certain that Richard Taylor, a little-known priest who was born at Haraby about the same time as our Martyr, said Mass at both these houses and was almost captured at the latter by the same informant, Lancaster. Taylor had gone to Douay at the end of June 1592, a good two months before Christopher Robinson left. They would certainly have made each other's acquaintance then and would probably have renewed it when Taylor returned to England in 1595. The Martyr is known to have been in touch with two other priests, John Boste and Richard Dudley, both of Westmorland; so that it is probable that he said Mass also at their houses at Dufton and Yanworth.

Robinson had been working in the north for about a year when, in September 1593, John Boste was captured at William Claxtone's, near Durham, removed to London and imprisoned. In the following July, Boste was sent back to the North, his feet tied beneath his horse, to be condemned and executed. He reached York about July 13th, thence to make the final stage to Durham before the opening of the Assizes on July 22nd. Christopher Robinson was in Westmorland when the news reached him. On Tuesday, July 23rd he hastened to Durham to attend the trial, arriving too late for the first two days proceedings but in time to hear, on the third and last day, the jury bring in their verdict of "Guilty". He remained in Durham that afternoon to witness "at the Trees" the execution of Boste, which was hurriedly carried out on the same day. He wrote a long and vivid account of it, blotted with his tears, to his "best beloved" Mr. Dudley.²³ The original document does

not appear to have survived, but a 17th century transcript of it, to which we referred at the beginning of this article, is among the Knaresborough papers at Everingham.

There would be no need to refer any further to this fine and moving letter, which is easily accessible and should be read in its entirety, were it not that its authenticity has been called into question in a work which can hardly be ignored. Canon Wilson, writing of Blessed John Boste in the Victoria County History of Cumberland²⁴ says: "Of his trial and execution ... we have a graphic description *if genuine*, by an eye-witness, Christopher Robinson ..." Fortunately it is possible to check the account in many of its details. It so happens that another description of Boste's trial and death, written quite independently, was sent in the same year, 1594, by Father Richard Holtby, S.J., to the Jesuit Superior, Father Garnet. The original is at Stonyhurst, in a somewhat lengthy history of the Persecution in the North under the Earl of Huntingdon.²⁵ It has been printed in Tierney's Dodd.²⁶ It is certainly not the same relation as Robinson's, for there are many details peculiar to each account (with some differences, too, as is to be expected in separate descriptions given by any two people witnessing an event); and Holtby describes, in addition, the first two days' proceedings at the Assizes at which Robinson was not present.

Although the Canon probably did not know that the document at Everingham is not the original letter but a transcript, (for the full letter was first printed only in the same year as the V.C.H.; and he seems, in any case, to rely entirely on Challoner's *Memoirs*, the sole authority which he quotes) it may be argued that he wished to cast doubt not on the contents of the "graphic description" but on its authorship. However, even this early transcript, in a memorandum at the end, calls attention to the fact that the *original copy* was endorsed: "The death of Mr. Boost written by Mr. Robinson ..." etc. The authority for the authorship is not Challoner, whose short extract from the letter does not bring out this point, but the possessor of the original letter. This was in all probability Father Dudley himself, the recipient of the letter. The writing of this endorsement was already an "old and distinct charactir" even to the 17th Century transcriber.

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

We hear no more of Christopher Robinson's whereabouts after his return from Durham until his betrayal nearly three years later which brought about his capture at Johnby Hall on March 4th 1596/7. The informer was a certain Thomas Lancaster, as we know from a letter "scribbled at Carlisle this 11th of July 1597" by Bishop John Mey to Sir Robert Cecil.²⁷ "Lancaster", writes Mey, "is the only man that I have trusted or can trust to discover such Jesuits and seminaries as do lurk within my diocese, to the corruption of many of her Majesty's subjects. He was the only man that gave me sure intelligence when and where I might apprehend, as I did, Christopher Robinson, our late condemned seminary, whose execution hath terrified a great sort of our obstinate recusants ..." The informer did not escape unhurt, for he was set upon by Robert Skelton and others and severely dealt with, as we know from a letter written from Rose Castle by the succeeding Bishop, Henry Robinson.²⁸ That Christopher was staying at Johnby at this time is known from a state document dated the 7th of August and assigned to the year 1599; this is a pardon procured by Dr. Caesar for Leonard Musgrave and his wife convicted of felony for harbouring Christopher Robinson, seminary priest.²⁹ The recusant Leonard Musgrave of "Johnby Hawle" is mentioned many times in the registers of Greystoke.

These papers (with another which will be named later) are important not only for the information which they give of Robinson's capture, but also because they help, by settling two other points, to dispel the confusion which has arisen about his last days. These points are the true date of his death and the question whether or not he escaped or was released from prison, as has often been asserted, between the date of his capture and the date of his death. He was captured, as we have seen, on March 4th 1597. The date of his death is traditionally - but, as we shall show, incorrectly - assigned to August 1598. It has previously been thought necessary to account for his whereabouts during the intervening seventeen months. In fact this is unnecessary, as he was certainly executed within a month of his capture.

There was no lack of authority for placing the date of Robinson's death in 1598. All the Martyr Catalogues covering that year place him there.³⁰ Perhaps it was Champney who did more than anyone to keep alive

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

the belief that Robinson died in 1598. He did not himself explicitly assign this date to Robinson, though he placed his name between that of the Ven. Peter Snow (June 1598) and the Ven. Richard Horner (September 1598), but he recorded a fact from which false conclusions have since been drawn. He told how the Martyr was visited in prison by the Bishop of the same name in an effort to dissuade him. "Hic [C. Robinson] cum pseudoepiscopo illius loci [Carlisle] nonnullos habuit conflictus, qui quoniam ejusdem erat nominis, et naturae non adeo saevus non exigua humanitatis indicia erga sanctum sacerdotem ostendit, nec tam minis et terroribus quam blanditiis et pollicitationibus (quibus animi generosi periculosius probantur) a constantia sua dejicere contendebat." As Henry Robinson did not succeed to the bishopric of Carlisle until May, 1598, any talks which as bishop he may have had with the Martyr cannot have been before that date; and therefore, it has been concluded, Christopher's death must have been subsequent to it. But the conclusion does not follow. It is not necessary for the correctness of Champney's words, either historically or grammatically, for Henry to have been Bishop at the time when he spoke with the Martyr. All that Champney need be understood to say is that Henry, *then* (i.e. at the time of writing) the well known Bishop of Carlisle, had tried to dissuade his namesake Christopher. The meeting must in fact have taken place in 1597 for in that year, as two letters will show, Christopher Robinson was executed.

The first letter has already been mentioned - that of Bishop Mey, Bishop Robinson's immediate predecessor, to Cecil, dated 11th July 1597.³¹ From this it is quite clear that the Martyr had already been executed when the letter was written. But besides this we have another reference to Robinson's death in a letter from Fr. Garnet, the Jesuit superior in England, to Fr. Persons in Rome, dated 7th April 1597.³² Since it adds some details not published elsewhere it is worth quoting in full:- "One Robinson a Seminary Pr^t was lately in a purchased gaole-delivery hanged att Carlisle: the rope broke twice and y^e 3^d time he rebuked y^e sherif of cruelty, saying y^t although he meant no way to yield, but was glad of his combat, yet flesh and bloud was weake, and therefore he shewed little humanity to torment a man so long. & when they took order to putt 2 ropes, then sayth he by this meanes I shall be longer a-dying:

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

but it is no matter I am very willing to suffer all. This is all y^e particulars I have yet heard."

The date of Garnet's letter enables us to draw the further conclusions that since the Martyr was already dead by April 7th his trial would have taken place at the latest at the Lenten Assizes and that his execution followed within a very brief period. The widest possible limit for Robinson's execution is between March 4th, the date of his capture, and April 7th. But that it was actually in March is suggested by the facts that first, it would have taken at least a few days for Father Garnet to receive the news of the martyrdom and write his account to Persons, and second, that the Lenten Assizes would be finished before Easter, and that as Easter in 1597 fell on March 27th one would expect all to be over before then.

The confusion which has surrounded Robinson's death has not been confined, however, to time. There has also been a smaller, but still considerable, confusion of place. Dodd in his Church History, gives the place of execution as York.³³ In this he is simply following a number of the Martyr Catalogues. Most of the Catalogues, however, are against this and there is sufficient evidence of other kinds to justify us in rejecting it. Possibly the confusion of time caused the confusion of place, for all the Martyrs of 1598 suffered at York, and in placing Robinson in the middle of that group the compilers of some of the Catalogues may have tended to assume that he died at the same place as the others. There is not doubt that, as the endorser of the "graphic description" records, Christopher Robinson suffered at Carlisle.

The place of his brief imprisonment is nowhere mentioned, but there does not seem to be any reason to doubt that he would be kept in Carlisle Castle. The room over the old Scotch Gate which stood at the head of Ricker Gate was used mainly for debtors. The Common Gaol at the Citadel succeeded an earlier cell in about the same spot; but it is doubtful whether this site, though in use a couple of generations after the Martyr's time and described by George Fox, existed or was used for religious prisoners as early as the 16th Century. The County Gaol at the Castle was the prison then in common use. Father Grene records

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

that James Leyburne of Skelsmergh (executed 1582/3) was imprisoned in the Castle after having first been lodged for a time in a "dark nether room" of the Keeper's house.

The exact place where Robinson suffered can also be determined with accuracy. There are three known sites in Carlisle where executions took place. The last public hanging in the City was outside the Gaol at the old English Gate. At the northern end of the City, also, executions took place on or near the ground now known as the Sands. The poets Wordsworth and Coleridge tell how they went to witness an execution here on Eden-side; and many early maps, such as that of the Soccage lands (1752), designate an area near Eden Bridge by the name of "Hangman's Close". But the earlier place of execution and the one used in the Martyr's day, was at Haraby, on the line of the great Roman road from Luguwallium to Voreda, on what is now the main road from Carlisle to Penrith. It was here that prisoners of the '45 were executed and the City historian, Jefferson, (1838), quotes the "Carlisle Patriot" for the statement that the remains of a gibbet were to be seen at this spot until almost the end of the 18th Century. "Gallow Hill" was situated just north of Petteril or "Little Peter" Bridge (referred to in a return made to the Exchequer in 1610 as "Gallow Bridge") on the high ground at present occupied by the Railwaymen's Hostel. This is perhaps a quarter of a mile nearer the City than the present Haraby Hill with which it is sometimes confused but which is south of the Bridge. It is the site referred to by Sir Walter Scott³⁴ in his poem on William Armstrong, the moss-trooper, who was imprisoned in Carlisle Castle just a few months before our Martyr:

"Oh Have ye na heard o' the fause Sakeld!

Oh, have ye na heard of the keen Lord Scroope?

How they have ta'en bauld Kinmount Willie

On Harribee to hang him up?"

Unlike "Kinmount Willie", the Ven. Christopher Robinson made no attempt to escape but laid down his life at Haraby.

Following the usual custom, Christopher Robinson was "dragged" ("tractus") from the Castle to Haraby. The journey of a mile and a half or so, though not so long as that endured by some of the Martyrs

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

elsewhere, was nevertheless considerable. The route taken is clearly defined. Leaving the outer ward of the Castle by the south, through the double gate in the John de Ireby Tower, he would cross the moat by the old drawbridge now replaced by a bridge of stone; thence by Castle Street to the City walls; through the English Gate (more commonly known, on account of the massive towers which flank it, as the Citadel); and due south into the fields by Botchergate and the present London Road.

Of the scene at his execution we know nothing except the incident of the rope, mentioned above. He was hanged, drawn and quartered. No last speech has been recorded, though Champney's words below rather suggest that he made one.

Mey, the ruling Bishop of Carlisle, reported in due course that the "execution hath terrified a great sort of our obstinate recusants".³⁵ Champney wrote: "His meek behaviour at the place of execution, the sweetness of his words and of his countenance, and the constancy and cheerfulness with which he died, touched the hearts of many of the spectators and was the occasion of many conversions."³⁶

Whether the Martyr's quarters were ever exposed on the Castle walls or on any of the City gates is not recorded. His body, in all probability, rests at Haraby still.

Causa Mortis

It now remains to consider the most important question of all - the nature of Robinson's *Causa Mortis*. It is his sole title to fame.

It is interesting to note that not one of the County antiquarians have ever questioned the religious character of this, though they have not extended this judgement to others. Ferguson, in place of the passage he deleted about the painful meeting in prison, substituted another to the effect that Robinson's execution was the only instance in the Diocese of Carlisle of martyrdom for religious opinions unconnected with actual rebellion. McIntyre and other non-Catholics have called attention to the same facts.

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

It is to be regretted that no indictment for the Martyr is known to have survived. It would be time wasted to search any further in the Courts at Carlisle or in the Guildhall, York. As for the Public Record Office, among the Records of the Justices Itinerant there are no Assize Rolls for Cumberland of a late later than the reign of Henry VI; nor among the Records of the modern Clerks of Assize are there any for the period prior to 1613 relating to the North-Eastern Circuit, which, up to 1877, included Cumberland. Among the Ancient Indictments which form part of the King's Bench Records there is nothing to the purpose in the files for 39-40 Eliz. Nor is there any allusion to the Martyr in the printed Acts of the Privy Council, nor in the Calendar of the Baga de Secretis. There is, however, an important document in the Chancery Patent Roll for 41 Eliz. which has not been previously noticed. This is the pardon for Leonard Musgrave to which we have already referred. But before describing this in detail we must first mention another piece of evidence of great importance which has a bearing on it.

When Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, compiled his Catalogue of the Martyrs, at Rome's request and with the definite purpose in view of their canonisation, he commented in the preface on the dearth of official public records concerning them.³⁷ However, what records there were he caused to be examined *while they were still available* in 1626; so that for some ninety-eight Martyrs he could quote the *causa mortis* as actually stated in the "Newgate Prison Register" or the "Registers of the County Assizes". Such statements are not the pious wishes or beliefs of those who have the Martyr's cause at heart but the official admissions of those responsible for their deaths. Now although these registers have long since perished, due to the Bishop's action their known contents have not. Chalcedon in his Catalogue is guaranteeing what they contained regarding the particular martyrs mentioned in them. Among the Assize Records for the Provinces appeared the name of Christopher Robinson, and the Bishop extracted the following words giving the reason for his death: "Sacerdotium, quod sacerdos in Anglia maneret". This is but a brief summary of the charge contained in Robinson's indictment.

It is now possible to make an independent check on the Bishop's extract from the County Assize Register by comparing it with the entry

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

on the above mentioned Chancery Patent Roll. There is no need here to go through the rigmarole of this long law-Latin document with its awkward contractions and its tedious repetitions. The following is a translation of the opening section of it:

"The Queen to all to whom etc. Greeting. Whereas Leonard Musgrave, late of Johnby in the County of Cumberland, gentleman, and Margaret his wife, being indicted for that as Christopher Robinson, late of Woodside in the County of Cumberland aforesaid, Clerk, born at Woodside aforesaid in the County aforesaid within the realm of England and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in the first year of Our Reign was ordained and professed sacerdos seminarius, anglice a seminarie priest, by the authority and jurisdiction, claimed, derived and pretended from the See of Rome against the laws and statutes of this realm of England in such cause published and provided. Nevertheless the aforesaid Leonard Musgrave and Margaret his wife, knowing the aforesaid Christopher Robinson to have been born within the realm of England aforesaid, and after the feast aforesaid to have been made, ordained and professed a seminary priest by the authority and jurisdiction claimed, derived and pretended from the See of Rome aforesaid, that is to say on the fourth day of March in the thirtieth year of Our Reign, the same Christopher Robinson at Johnby aforesaid in the County aforesaid, knowingly, willingly and feloniously received, comforted and maintained the same Christopher Robinson till then being at large and out of prison against the form of the statute thereof published and provided and against our peace, crown and dignity, as by the indictment aforesaid, remaining of record, is fully evident and appears. Nevertheless know that we, moved by mercy, of our special grace, sure knowledge and mere motion, have pardoned, remitted and released, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do pardon, remit and release to the aforesaid Leonard Musgrave, late of Johnby in the County of Cumberland aforesaid, gentleman, or by whatever other name, or addition of name, art, mystery, place or places, the same Leonard Musgrave is known, called or named, or formerly was known, called or named, the aforesaid felony and felonious reception, comfort and maintenance of the aforesaid Christopher Robinson in the indictment aforesaid ..."

The Pardon concludes: "Witnessed by the Queen at Nonsuche the 7th day of August. By writ of privy seal."

VENERABLE CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

The clauses contained in the above document are thus directed towards removing from the two Musgraves those disabilities (named at greater length later in the roll) to which they were legally liable because of their crime in sheltering Christopher Robinson the priest. The crime was dependent on the fact of Robinson's priesthood and on nothing besides. It is obvious enough, therefore, that it was for the self-same reason that our Martyr was taken with them; and that his sole indictment is the one contained in the Act of Elizabeth.³⁸

In these few historical notes our aim has been only to gather and weigh facts, and not, at this stage, to clothe the dry bones with flesh. But it is of the man behind those facts that we should take our final leave. It would seem to be a property of the Martyrs for each to have a separate and personal appeal distinct from that of his colleagues. Nor has this been denied even to the least known. The paucity of our knowledge of their achievement is sometimes the very factor which most endears them to us. And so it is with Christopher Robinson. On the hillside at Harraby there stood no faithful chronicler to perform for him that service which he had rendered Blessed John Boste. One solitary remark - no more - which he made in all his life has chanced to come down to us. Yet it is not an exaggeration to say that he has left us perhaps the finest farewell message of them all - three years before his death when he stood "at the Trees" in Durham and noted those dying words of his friend which so moved him as he wrote that he "blotted" the page with his tears. Such words belong as much to him who preserved them for posterity and they say all that needs to be said:-
"I hope in God that if you will not suffer me to speak unto you in this world, that this my death will speake in your harts, that which I would have spoken."

NOTES

1. Everingham MSS. Large folio. ff. 550-609.
2. Chall. Appen. III and C.R.S.i.85sq.

3. Douai Dairy I, ed. Knox. p.15.
4. Westminster Cathedral Archives, Chalcedon Catalogue.
5. P.130. "He was born at Woodside, near Wigton ..."
6. V.C.H. Cumb. II p.87.
7. Cath. Encycl. xiii. p.99.
8. *Records*, vol.6, p.243; vol.7, p.657.
9. When I consulted this it was in the upper story of the old Abbey gateway by the Cathedral.
10. Not 1613 as Burke states. (Key to the Ancient Parish Registers). The earliest entries are not on the first page.
11. It is just possible that a previous register for St. Cuthbert's would have been early enough to contain the date of baptism. The registers, e.g. at the border Church at Rockcliffe were carried off by the Scots in 1648. cf. note on the flyleaf of the next register there. Enquiries made at Edinburgh have so far failed to trace the Register for St. Cuthbert's and in all probability it no longer exists. It ought, however, to be added that a full inventory of the Hamilton papers is not at present available.
12. I have been through the main bulk of these from about 14 Hen. 8. (1522).
13. The authority for this is Champney. cf. *infra*, Note 36.
- 13a. See Foley, vol.6, p.243; vol.7, p.657.
14. Foley, vol.3, p.108.
15. Douai Diary II. 434.
16. *ib.* 232.
17. *ib.* 239.
18. *ib.* 243.
19. *ib.* 247. The last entry in D.D. II (p.264), however, gives Jan. 3rd, 1592 for the date of departure.
20. P.R.O. Chancery Patent Rolls (c66) No.1496. m. 5.
21. Was this, in fact, part of Wetheral Priory?
22. Was this the present Harraby Inn?
23. C.R.S. i. 85sq.
24. V.C.H. II. p.87.
25. Stonyhurst, MSS. Anglia, A. ii. 12.
26. Tierney-Dodd, III. 75 sq.
27. Cal. Salisbury MSS. VII. 298.
28. S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol.278, no.7, i.
29. Chan. Pat. Roll. *ut supra*, note 20.
30. Thus: Wilson 1604. Wilson 1608, Worthington I, Chalcedon-More, Eudaemon, Worthington III, "J.C.", Douay, Spanish, Molanus, Raissius, Exemplar Litterarum, Paris, Chalcedon, Grene, Newdigate.
31. Cal. Sal. MSS. VII. 298.
32. Stonyhurst MSS., Collectanea P. p.548.
33. Dodd. II. 84. 2.
34. Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, II. p.32 sq.
35. *Ut supra*, notes 27, 31.

36. Champney MSS. His Queen Elizabeth, p.969, in the Archives of the Old Chapter.
37. Westminster Archives, Chalcedon Catalogue.
38. Act against Jesuits and Seminary Priests, 1585. (27th Eliz.) Tanner p.154.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- A. Since submitting this article I am able to add another contemporary reference which confirms the date and place of Robinson's martyrdom. A letter from Robert Fisher (a troublesome student from the English College, touring England) to Dr. Bagshaw, dated May 16th, has a postscript saying that the writer has heard that one of his schoolfellows, chamberfellows and bedfellows, named Robinson, was lately martyred at Carlisle (MSS. at Inner Temple. HMC. Report, App. vii, p.262).
- B. It will be seen from what I have written that when Fr. G. Anstruther O.P., in his corrections to C.A. Newdigate's "Our Martyrs" (*Biographical Studies*, vol.1, no.2, p.112) wrote concerning Christopher Robinson: "Query date of execution", he was quite right. He went beyond the evidence, however, when he added: "and indeed [query] the whole story, as given by Challoner, of the Bishop of Carlisle who was his namesake". There is no reason to query Champney's statement once it is interpreted correctly.

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639. A RECENTLY DISCOVERED
LIST AMONG THE TOWNELEY PAPERS

By GODFREY ANSTRUTHER O.P.

In 1639 Charles I was faced with rebellion in Scotland. On 16th January he summoned the peers to attend him at York by 1st April, with such forces of horse as their birth and honour required. Meanwhile his Catholic consort, Henrietta Maria, appealed to the leading priests in England to organize a nation-wide collection from Catholics in order to help finance the expedition and to make manifest the loyalty of the Catholic body. The superiors of the Catholic clergy, secular and regular, gave their support to the scheme, and a longlist of "Advices and Motives" was drawn up, urging Catholics to subscribe.¹ I have summarised this elsewhere.² Copies of the "Advices and Motives" were sent to the clergy in various parts of the country, together with a circular letter, dated 4th April, 1639, bearing the signatures of the five superiors, Anthony Champney signing for the seculars, William Price for the Benedictines, Thomas Dade [Middleton, alias Dade] for the Dominicans, Francis Davenport for the Franciscans, and Henry More for the Jesuits. In the circular letter the superiors state that although the "Advices" are directed only to lay gentlemen, "yet we desire you (and we have answered for you) that you will employ yourself and all those that depend on you, sincerely to solicit and dispose all their minds, whom you have relation unto, as powerfully as you can, to contribute cheerfully and bountifully upon this occasion; which, as it is the first that ever we laboured in of this kind, so we hope in God it will be the last".³

This was the first organized and concerted effort by the clergy, secular and regular, in any field, and it is interesting to study the details. The amount raised throughout England was £14,000, but the principal interest for us lies less in the results achieved by the scheme than in the light it throws on the distribution of the clergy at a period when the whereabouts of priests were kept as secret as possible. In the John Ryland's Library at Manchester⁴ is a collection of papers that once belonged to Towneley Hall, the home of the Catholic Towneley family

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

n Lancashire; it contains copies of the circular letter already mentioned and other letters quoted in this note, details of the amount received from each parish in Lancashire, and a list of the parishes in tabular form, showing the priests responsible and the chief Catholic landowners in the county. This last⁵ is unique in my experience. There seems to be nothing similar, still existing, for other counties. It was dangerous to commit such information to paper, and we must be thankful that the document slept peacefully at Towneley Hall when the Long Parliament met in the following year and persecution of Catholics broke out again.

The collectors for Lancashire were Sir Basil Brooke and Sir Kenelm Digby, the Queen's Chancellor. They were assisted by lay coadjutors living locally, viz. Charles Towneley junior, William Gerard, and a Mr. Bradshaw, but much of the actual gathering of the money was entrusted to the clergy. Champney wrote to his archdeacons on 1st June, 1639 directing that every priest in their districts was "to collect of the servants and poorer sort of Catholics what they conceive they may give, for gentlement of quality cannot so well speak to those persons as priests and their ghostly fathers may". He adds that they are to send in details of their collections. It was evidently for the efficient ordering of the clergy's part that the list of parishes was compiled.

The parishes are grouped under their Hundreds - Blackburn, Amounderness, Leyland and West Derby. Lonsdale, comprising the wild hill-country and lake district, is never mentioned, presumably because it was so sparsely populated. Concerning the remaining Hundred, that of Salford, there is a note which makes strange reading today:

"Salford Hundred, having for collectors Sir Cecil Trafford dwelling in the same, by reason there are but few Catholics, will easily be taken touch withal through such diligence as Mr. Ridding in the name of the clergy, Mr. James Anderton, Mr. Richard Clark and Mr. Lawrence Rigby, all Regulars, for their penitents, will not doubt most efficaciously apply in this present service of their Majesties."

It would appear that the secular priests normally resided within the bounds of the parish assigned to them. Only at Goosnargh and

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

St. Michaels were they left in sole command; in every other parish there was also a Benedictine or a Jesuit or both. These religious were itinerant, and nearly all were responsible for souls in more than one parish. Two papers in the Towneley volume,⁶ not quite identical, give us information over and above what is to be found in the list of parishes, as to where they might be found. I have condensed these two lists into one, as follows:-

Monks

Mr. Benson at Wigglesworth.
Mr. Heath in Brindle or at Clayton-in-the-Moor.
Mr. Grey at Westby.
Mr. William Latham at Mosborough.
Mr. Edward Barlow at the Morleys in Leigh parish.
Mr. James Anderton at Lostock.
Mr. Dr. Bold at Evan Fisher in Brindle.
Mr. Thomas Sherburne alias Catterall at Ecclestone juxta Prescott.
Mr. Brown at Mrs. Chanock's near to Leyland or in Brindle at Salbery.
Mr. Lawrence Clifton at Westby.

1 Friar

Mr. Richard Hartley at Trafford.

Jesuits

Mr. Bradley at the Bryn.
Mr. Squire at Kerden.
Mr. Banester at Lytham.
Mr. Harden at Dong [? Dungen Hall].
Mr. Kirkham at Plumptre near to Kirkham Town.
Mr. Carleton alias Musgrave at Mr. Gerard's at Ince.
Mr. James Ireland oft comes out to Kilsburn and to Leigh, and to the Bryn.
Mr. Bennet a demi-Jesuit at Blackburn near to Rufford.
Mr. Orton a demi-Jesuit at Cockerham.
Mr. Rigby a formal Jesuit at James Barker's in Blackrod.
Mr. Cowler a demi-Jesuit at Berchley.
Mr. Smith alias Sankey, a Jesuit formal at Lydiate's.

It is beyond the scope of this article to give biographical notices of the priests whose names are recorded in this list. I must content myself by pointing out that three of them, all Lancashire born, were

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

destined to lay down their lives at Lancaster: Edward Ambrose Barlow, S.B. in 1641, and Edward Bamber alias Ridding, and Thomas Whitaker, in 1646. As far as I know, the information given in the list has not been used by the biographers of the religious orders. I leave it to some learned member of the Society of Jesus to tell us what is meant by "demi-Jesuit".

To return to the list of parishes. The document is headed: "A note of divers such persons as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, namely who may perhaps amongst many others be thought fitted to assist as adjutors in each parish (as men not unacquainted therein) within the several hundreds, her Majesty's appointed Collectors for the demanding and gathering such frank and free benevolences as the Catholics of Lancashire will be pleased by the example of others in other shires voluntarily to give and present unto our Queen's most gracious Majesty towards the defraying of his Majesty's most chargeable journey with his army at this present gone into the northern parts of his realms against some of his there rebellious subjects."

The document is in tabular form, containing seven columns headed respectively: *The names of the parishes, Priests of the Clergy called Seculars, Priests of the Order of St. Benedict, Priests of the Order of the Society [of Jesus], Layment depending on the Clergy [i.e. Seculars], Laymen depending on the Monks, Laymen depending on the Jesuits.* To reproduce it as it stands, with its numerous blank panels, would be wasteful of space. The following list gives the content but not the form of the document. Under "Priests", *Sec.* = Secular, *Ben.* = Benedictine, *Jes.* = Jesuit. Under "Laymen", *Sec.* = dependent on the Seculars, *Ben.* = dependent on the Benedictines, *Jes.* = dependent on the Jesuits. The parishes are rearranged in alphabetical order; the original order is indicated by numbers in square brackets before the names of the parishes. I have modernised the spelling.

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

PRIESTS

PARISHES

LAYMEN

Alber. *See* Horsall.

[26] Aughton.

Sec. Mr. Walton.

Ben. Mr. Barlow.

Jes. Mr. Sanky.

Sec. Nicholas Lee.

Ben. Peter Stanley.

Jes. Mr. Wilkinson of Magall.

Mr. Gerard of Aughton.

Bispham. *See* Poulton.

[3] Blackburn.

Sec. John Hartley.

Ben. Mr. Brown.

Jes. Mr. Harden.

Sec. John Talbot of Dinckley.

Ratcliff Houghton.

Mr. Osbaston of Sunderland.

Ben. Mr. Grimshay of Clayton senior.

Jes. Mr. Caterick.

[11] Brindle and Penwortham.

Sec. Richard Sharp.

Ben. Mr. Brown.

Mr. Bold.

Jes. Mr. Squire.

Sec. Thurstan Anderton.

Ben. Hugh Anderton.

[19] Childwall.

Sec. Ralph Melling.

Mr. Venables.

Ben. William Latham.

Sec. Edward Tarleton of Egebergh.

Ben. John Cross of the Park.

[1] Chipping.

Sec. James Sandes.

Ben. Robert Benson.

Sec. William Parker of the Wolf House.

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

Chorley. *See* Croston.

[12] Croston and Chorley.

<i>Sec.</i> Edward Ditchfield.	<i>Sec.</i> Mr. Chorley junior.
<i>Ben.</i> Thomas Catterall.	William Graddel.
<i>Ben.</i> Mr. Birket.	<i>Ben.</i> Hugh Anderton.
Mr. Harden.	<i>Jes.</i> Mr. Gilliburn junior.
	Richard Rockley.

Eccleston. *See* Standish.

[6] Garstang.

<i>Sec.</i> John Haughton.	<i>Sec.</i> Thomas Dalton of Thurnham.
<i>Sec.</i> Mr. Johnson.	<i>Jes.</i> Mr. Butler of Kirkland.

[7] Goosnargh and Michaels.

<i>Sec.</i> Mr. Sefton.	<i>Sec.</i> Gabriel Hesketh.
Mr. Whittacre.	Mr. Midghall.
	<i>Jes.</i> Mr. Calvert of Cockerham.

[25] Horsall and Alber.

<i>Sec.</i> Thomas Cleyton.	<i>Sec.</i> Mr. Mollineux of Wood.
<i>Sec.</i> Mr. Sanky.	Mr. James Holsall.
	<i>Ben.</i> Mr. Robert Barlow.
	<i>Jes.</i> Mr. Wilkinson of Magall.

[20] Huyton.

<i>Sec.</i> Christopher Totty.	<i>Sec.</i> Robert Harrington of Huyton.
<i>Ben.</i> William Latham.	<i>Ben.</i> George Wetherby.

[8] Kirkham and Lytham.

<i>Sec.</i> John Beesley.	<i>Sec.</i> John Westby of Mowbrick.
<i>Ben.</i> Lambert Grey.	<i>Jes.</i> Thomas Clifton.
<i>Sec.</i> Mr. Banester.	Mr. Parker of Bradborne.

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

[24] Leigh.

Sec. Edward Ridding.

Ben. Mr. Barlow.

Mr. Bold.

Jes. Mr. Orton.

Sec. Mr. Garret of the Garret.

Ben. Mr. Urmston of Leigh.

Jes. Mr. Kilshaw of Kilshaw.

[10] Leyland.

Sec. Richard Crichley.

Ben. Mr. Brown.

James Anderton.

Jes. Mr. Squire.

Sec. James Anderton of Clayton senior.

Ben. Mr. Rishton de Pathalgh.

Jes. William Walton.

Liverpool. *See* Walton.

Lytham. *See* Kirkham.

Michaels. *See* Goosnargh.

[14] Northmeales.

No Catholics or exceeding few and poor to be found herein.

[15] Ormeskirk.

Sec. Christopher Totty.

Ben. Mr. Barlow.

Jes. Mr. Sanky.

Sec. Edward Scaresbricke.

Ben. Mr. Mossock.

Jes. James Gorsidge.

Penwortham. *See* Brindle.

[5] Poulton and Bispham.

Sec. Mr. Newby.

Ben. Mr. Benson.

Jes. Mr. Kirkham.

Sec. Mr. Singleton of Staining junior.

Ben. Mr. Hesketh of Poulton.

[22] Prescott.

Sec. Peter Wetherby.

Ben. Thomas Catterall.

William Latham.

Jes. Mr. Cowley.

Mr. Moore.

Sec. Mr. Egerton of Hartshaw.

Mr. Harden of Farnworth.

Ben. Mr. Eccleston of Eccleston.

Mr. Latham of Mosborough junior.

Jes. William Mannering of Windleshaw.
George Livesey.

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

[9] Preston.

Sec. William Crichley.	Sec. Mr. Eyves of Fishwick junior.
Jes. Mr. Orton.	Jes. William Walton junior.

[4] Ribchester.

Sec. John Butler.	Sec. Thomas Hothersall of Hothersall.
Jes. Mr. Johnson.	Mr. Walmesley of Showley junior.

[23] Sefton.

Sec. Alexander Parr.	Sec. John Mollineux of the Grange.
Mr. Lanetree.	Mr. Mollineux junior.
Jes. Mr. Sanky.	Jes. William Blundell of Crosby.
Mr. Harden.	

[13] Standish and Eccleston.

Sec. Oliver Crickley.	Sec. William Haughton of Parkehall.
Ben. Mr. Bold.	Jes. Mr. Bradshaw of Hay.
Jes. Mr. Orton.	Mr. Langtree of Langtree.
	William Anderton of Anderton.

[18] Walton juxta Liverpool.

Sec. John Challoner.	Sec. Robert Fazakerly of Spillow House.
Mr. Walton.	Mr. Formby junior.
Ben. Thomas Catterall.	

[16] Warrington.

Sec. William Tickle.	Sec. Mr. Massy of Ripton.
Ben. Mr. Barlow.	Richard Carter of Widnes.
Jes. Mr. Orton.	Ben. Mr. Ashton of Bamfurlong.

[2] Whalley.

Sec. Matthew Sherborne.	Sec. Chas. Towneley of Townley.
Ben. George Heath.	Robert Sherborne of Mitton.
	Ben. Bernard Townley of Pendle.
	Jes. Ralph Holden of Holden.

LANCASHIRE CLERGY IN 1639

[17] Wigan.

Sec. Mr. Tompson.
Edward Ridding.
Ben. Mr. Bold.
Jes. Mr. Bradley.
Mr. Cowley.
Mr. Musgrave.
Laurence Righy.

Sec. Mr. Langton of Lowe.
Ben. Mr. Ince of Ince.
Jes. Sir William Gerard.
James Anderton.
Mr. Bickley.
Mr. Gerard of Ince.

[21] Winwick.

Sec. William Tickle.
Ben. Edward Barlow.
Jes. James Ireland.

Sec. Mr. Massy of Ripton.
Mr. Ditchfield of Ditton.
Jes. Mr. Kilshaw of Kilshaw.

NOTES

1. See next paragraph and Note 4 below. A copy of the "Advices" is contained in the Towneley volume, item no.7a.
2. *Vaux of Harrowden*, p.464.
3. Towneley volume, item no.34a.
4. JRL. Eng. MS.737.
5. Item. no.13.
6. Items no.11,12.

